

morning with Virginia Representatives DAVIS, WOLF, BATEMAN, Congresswoman MORELLA, who represents Montgomery County, MD, and myself. We meet regularly throughout each day. But this morning we reported as a group first that in our own metropolitan area the SAIC Corp., private contractors, furloughed some 600 people. DynCorp, another private contractor, has furloughed 700 people.

We had the transportation representatives in to see us this morning, primarily the taxicab operators in northern Virginia. Their business is absolutely devastated. Yesterday we met with those of the hotel industry and the restaurant industry. Their business is being devastated.

So the ripple effect, Mr. President, is impacting the greater metropolitan area, and indeed in many other places throughout the United States. It is imperative that all of us bring to bear our best judgment to try and resolve this problem.

Mr. President, I wish to include in today's RECORD just samples of the thousands of communications being forwarded to my office, both by telephone and by letter. I am certain that this is taking place in other offices here in the Senate. As a matter of fact, Congressman BATEMAN said he cannot even get through to his office in Tidewater, VA, today because of the volume of communications from his constituents.

But one letter dated December 12 of last year from a retired Navy captain, signed both by himself and his wife, simply says:

Our country is already in a sorry state due primarily to congressional incompetence over the years, and these situations only make matters worse. Perhaps one answer to the "stalemate" problem might be to exclude the media from all deliberations and eliminate press conferences.

This is sort of the typical reaction of an individual who has dedicated his life as a public servant here in the military to try and keep our Nation strong but expressing his own views.

A second letter, December 29, 1995, from Mr. John Fulton of Vienna, VA, indicates he is a lifelong Republican, but he says:

There is no rational reason why the issue of ongoing day to day operations of our government cannot be separated from the larger, and critically important, budget deficit problems.

I certainly agree with these constituents.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIRGINIA BEACH, VA,
December 12, 1995.

Hon. JOHN W. WARNER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WARNER: I am a retired naval officer, having served forty years in the Navy, and my wife a homemaker for fifty-four years are most concerned with the

political shenanigans now going on in Washington. While you are not directly involved the respective parties leadership must stop this nonsensical attempts to outwit the other side for political gain. It is time for your colleagues to put aside their egos and do the work Congress was elected to do, and within the framework of the Constitution.

Our country is already in a sorry state due primarily to congressional incompetence over the years, and these situations only make matters worse. Perhaps one answer to the "stalemate" problem might be to exclude the media from all deliberations and eliminate press conferences. In any event, you and your colleagues must get your act together, for the good of our country.

Having said the above we, like most of your senior citizen constituents, only ask that in your deliberations and voting that we be treated equally and fairly.

Sincerely,

T.H. CONAWAY, Jr.
MARGARET P. CONAWAY

VIENNA, VA,
December 29, 1995.

Hon. JOHN W. WARNER,
U.S. Senate, U.S. Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WARNER: I am writing to express my concern and dismay over the way in which this congress is conducting the work of the Nation.

As a lifelong Republican, I am embarrassed and appalled at the recent actions taken by members of our party which have resulted in a partial shutdown of government operations, financial problems for thousands of federal employees and private contractors, cost to the nation of millions of dollars in federal funds wasted daily and gross inconvenience to our citizens nationwide. The lack of mature leadership and responsibility demonstrated by Republican members of both the House and Senate in this situation is without historical precedence in the 44 years that I have been privileged to be a party member and vote! It would appear that a significant number of congressional members have forgotten a fundamental principle of our Democracy—the ends don't justify the means! If this behavior continues there will be no need for term limits.

There is no rational reason why the issue of ongoing day to day operations of our government cannot be separated from the larger, and critically important, budget deficit problems. We must separate these issues; get the government and related businesses back to work and focus on the central issue before the Nation—the re-prioritization of our national goals, priorities, programs and commitments necessary to balance our budget and relieve our children and grandchildren of the horrendous 4 trillion dollar debt. If the congress and administration are unable to resolve this issue before the next election then let the voters decide who they want to entrust the challenge to.

I am also greatly concerned about the proposed capital gains tax cuts and child tax credits. If our party is serious about deficit reduction and restoring our Nation's fiscal health and credibility we should recruit all Americans to share in the sacrifice—sustain the cuts, drop all tax cuts and apply all the savings toward the \$4,000,000,000,000 + deficit! Any other course of action will be correctly viewed by the American people as a sham, catering to wealthy-special interest groups and we will (and should) pay at election time. This is a year when those of us who have profited greatly from stocks/bonds investments should be willing to make a continued investment in the Nation which made those earnings possible—through capital gains and other revenues. When we get our nation out of debt we can cut taxes—and all celebrate!

I appreciate your leadership and wish you and your staff a blessed and prosperous New Year.

Sincerely,

JOHN FULTON.

Mr. WARNER. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico seek the floor?

Mr. BINGAMAN. Yes, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 10 minutes.

LIVELIHOODS DISRUPTED

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I wanted to comment on two major items today. First—this is a somewhat new item. I believe it is a new example of the abrogation of responsibility by the House Republican leadership. For 20 days we have been holding three-quarters of a million Federal civil servants hostage in this effort to exercise what Speaker GINGRICH calls his right not to pass spending bills.

He has referred to that many times in interviews. As a result, as the Senator from Virginia was just pointing out, many Americans—contract workers, those planning to travel, those seeking export licenses, those seeking federally insured mortgages—have had their livelihoods disrupted.

Now the leadership in the House has added the military personnel of the country to the list of those whose livelihoods are being disrupted.

Yesterday, the House failed to override the President's veto of the Defense authorization bill. And when they did that, Congressman DELLUMS sought to bring up S. 1514, which is a bill that the Senate passed last Saturday to ensure that our troops get their full January pay raise, both their basic pay and subsistence pay, which are to increase 2.4 percent, and their quarters pay, which is to increase 5.2 percent.

When the Senate passed the bill last Saturday, the Presiding Officer, Senator STEVENS, made the statement: "Mr. President, this bill should not be controversial. The President asked that it be passed and has said that he will sign it as soon as he receives it."

Congressman DELLUMS yesterday tried to bring it up in time so that the Pentagon could ensure that troops receive their full pay in their first January paycheck. He was refused.

Mr. President, when we have troops in Bosnia and when our troops are proudly around the globe in other potential hot spots—South Korea, the Middle East—the House Republicans should not be adding them to the list of people who are being inconvenienced and whose livelihoods are being disrupted by inaction in Congress. This is yet another example of where Senate Republicans have acted responsibly in carrying out their duties under the Constitution; House Republicans have not. The Senate acted last Saturday on the Stevens-Thurmond bill as soon as the President vetoed the Defense authorization bill. I am sure many Senate

Republicans do not agree with the President's veto of that Defense authorization bill, but they were not going to allow their differences with the President on that larger issue to adversely affect our troops.

Mr. President, I can only hope that the House Republican leadership will reverse course today. Their refusal to take up and to pass that military pay bill yesterday was inexcusable. I hope they will do our military personnel and all Americans a service by bringing it up and passing it today.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECOND SESSION OF THIS CONGRESS

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, let me speak about one other issue that I am quite concerned about, and that is the implication of what is going on now for the work of this Congress in the second session and in future sessions. There has been a lot of talk about hostage-taking. There was a very good editorial that has been referred to in the Washington Post yesterday about how the current shutdown is an example of hostage-taking. Yet, the editorial stated, I thought, very eloquently:

Hostage-taking is an ugly business. It doesn't matter what the cause. Innocent people are seized and used as pawns; they become political trading stamps whose welfare is exchanged for things the hostage-taker could not win by normal means.

Obviously, the most dramatic example of hostage-taking in recent history in this country was the hostage-taking in Iran in November 1979. It could be debated whether the current Government shutdown rises to the level of a hostage-taking. Perhaps this is just a using of public servants, Federal employees, as pawns in a larger political game, and I will leave to others the debate about whether this is, in fact, a hostage-taking.

But, Mr. President, in my view, when each of us took our oath of office, and that oath included the duty to protect and defend the Constitution, implied in that was the responsibility to maintain a functioning Government. Now, that is not written into the Constitution, but I think it is clearly implied that those of us who seek public office will take on that responsibility.

We can argue about what the Government ought to do, we can argue about how large the Government ought to be, we can argue about how many employees ought to be hired by the Federal Government, but the basic responsibility to maintain a functioning Government is something about which I think is very difficult for us to argue.

The Republican leadership in the House has taken a different view. They are saying that as to the parts of the Government which today remain closed, they do not share that responsibility to maintain those parts of the Government functioning. They believe that is the President's problem, it is not their problem.

Those who wrote our Constitution established a system of government where power is shared, but also a system of government where responsibility is shared, and part of that responsibility that is shared is the responsibility to maintain a functioning Government.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BINGAMAN. I will be glad to yield to the Senator from Maryland for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. I say to the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, given our constitutional arrangements of separation of powers and checks and balances, if both branches do not act responsibly, how can we meet our responsibilities under the Constitution?

We have a situation here, as I perceive it, in which a coercive tactic is being employed which I understand has never been used previously in our Nation's history. That is, a certain group, in order to get its way on a substantive issue, is prepared to use as a tactic the closing down of the Government with all of the harm that inflicts, not only on the Federal employees but throughout the private sector.

This is a classic example of using any means to get to your end, even though the means that are being used here result in a breakdown of our constitutional system of democratic government. What is the Senator's perception with respect to that?

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate the question very much, and I agree entirely with what the Senator from Maryland is saying. I believe it is a breakdown of our system. I believe the Founding Fathers who set up our system of government intended that all of us in Government, whether in the legislative branch or in the executive branch, would work together to try to maintain a functioning Government and to resolve disputes. That is not happening now.

I was particularly bothered by an article on December 2 in the Washington Post where it talked about the impasse that was existing, and it referred to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the House, Mr. LIVINGSTON. It said:

Livingston and other Republicans yesterday boasted that after weeks of standoff over spending issues, the momentum had shifted in the Republicans' direction when the President accepted the defense spending bill. "I think that once the defense bill was off the table, the administration lost the leverage it really had planned on using," Livingston said. He added that most of the remaining spending bills include programs that "are a greater concern to the President" than to many other Members of Congress.

To me, that does not bode well for the rest of our deliberations in the second session of the Congress. If the President needed to keep the Defense appropriations bill on the table in order to be able to bargain with the House, then the obvious message is

that he would keep it on the table in a new session. I cannot conceive of the President this fall, for example, when we send him appropriations bills, I cannot conceive of him signing a legislative appropriations bill before all of the executive branch appropriations bills have been completed. It would not make any sense, if this is the new context in which we operate.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. BINGAMAN. Yes, I will be glad to yield.

Mr. SARBANES. Representative BOEHLERT stated in mid-November, and I quote him: "You have a group in our conference who could not care less if the Government shuts down. They will be cheering."

I submit, shutting the Government down is a default in carrying out your responsibilities as an elected Member of the legislative branch. You have to separate out the matter of carrying forward the normal functions of Government, on which millions of people across the country depend, from disputes you may be having over particular issues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi is recognized.

REGARDING THE RESOLUTION COMMENDING BRETT FAVRE

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate passed, at my request, a resolution commending Brett Favre, from my State, who was named earlier this week as the most valuable player in the National Football League. Brett, as Senators know, is the quarterback of the Green Bay Packers.

When I introduced the resolution, I did so on my behalf and TRENT LOTT, as a cosponsor. I learned, after adopting the resolution, that the two distinguished Senators from Wisconsin wanted their names to be added as cosponsors of the resolution. I looked at the RECORD and it does reflect that later in the RECORD. I wanted to make a point of saying that I had not received that information at the time the resolution was submitted and passed by the Senate.

I was going to ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senators HERB KOHL and RUSS FEINGOLD be added as cosponsors, but that is reflected in the RECORD. So I am pleased that they joined us in the resolution commending and congratulating Brett Favre for the great honor that he received.

(At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

CONGRATULATING BRETT FAVRE

• Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today with my colleagues, Senators